/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse
[302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and
[132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can
● [262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during
[354] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given
[262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar-cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centi-
meters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize
and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For
this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over
which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[425] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (miš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community
land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabildeyát),
and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147
/see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-
roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the
colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and
outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied
horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled
with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The
filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

000 /129 cont./
351 p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms.
In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as
cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a
regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[227] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized
Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate
for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the
vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal
parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick culti-
412 vation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally un-
known. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the
model of the colonists and in which European plants such as
cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over
with the spade (pála). The digging stick (ãty) consists merely of
a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize
may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in
April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate,
making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direc-
tion with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels
into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little
earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily."
The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After
half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period
is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that suf-
ficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
● [262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young
maize (tsőt; maize in general, kőty) is eaten half-ripe and only
later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or
women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and
break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyűša) thrives only in the lower, protected
localities of the Kokiyő Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/130 cont./

249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with [462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know [482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /), women stuff the sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs, holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (õs) is of great im- [262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller, white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten, whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez, [262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell. 243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers, 434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in 243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/131 cont./

243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case [251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the [237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their [821] hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Caldera. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet [262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/132 cont./

245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (tolǒ), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoĩts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambĩč or pĩna, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlāl).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosẽ oñ) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oñ) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415 412] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not, however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a
[353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
● 262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = tolό, heifer = novflya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (pĭša) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under
231 "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
[422] are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (átaly; rooster =
235 atalyepítste, chick = atalyelúčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, [262] which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mis) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the [235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very [262] rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čí'nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čí'nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čí'nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyŏmp, the mountain spirit.

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one [757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mõno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let themselves be diverted. 224 Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šáyuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
● [262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dûyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yâhaleckwe) about the size of a fist. There are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag, picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were converted to monogamy only through education on the part of the missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec̀, tũs, and gẽlyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/260 cont./

756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

756 784 [834] [263] Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats [787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the 756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same 784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a 825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only [262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids .

756 787 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most important symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive [278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

Food. Cultivated and Other Useful Plants

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukš*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χšiontš*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Katš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *motši* (the Kitšua *motc*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*bcka*).

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us bc*, red beans. The *asgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

244 262 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitšua origin (*papayú*); *ápe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *ans* (*Arracaccia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *unt*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *nia* the cassava root; *kâka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsçvi*, or *ñuil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *puil*, *Tropæolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitš* (*Cyclanthera pedata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 262 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first, and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plan*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulú*, a word that forms the root of *Tulua*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guineo*, corrupted into *kuciò*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *ñal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *ñakú*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *ixtse*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 [249] A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
624 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

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25. The Sky

Informant: Agustín Muse.
Interpreter: Marco Antonio Penkue.

Once when I was near death my soul climbed to the sky, which is a flat plain where the view extends to the horizon. The entrance is wooded. The Virgin told me that this land was for her sons and that I would have a piece. To reach the sky, one first goes along a good path and soon becomes lost; the most hidden one leads to the Virgin's palace. It is said that it is bad for one to eat the porcupine, because he will come before María Santísima dressed in its skin. He will go to the devil, and although the latter cannot pick him up, he has hooks with which to grab him. This is why, at the hour of retiring or rising, I pray to my God and to María.

[262]
[825]

The palace of María is of blinding splendor. It is very beautiful. The Virgin always holds the Child; only rarely does she put him down somewhere.

I tell my fellow men what I saw but they make fun of my account.

/308/ It is holy, they should respect it.

Good people go to heaven, that is to say, those who do not abuse other persons, say evil things, or are loutish.

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26. Origin of the Plants

The old people said that every kind of seed had been given by María Santísima, who drew them from her womb and gave them to the Christians in order for them to maintain themselves. Plants are thus inherited from María Santísima. She gave away every kind of seed when her brother was around. Hence his rage, since he wanted to give seeds and animals and could not. Perhaps the snakes were made by Santo Tomás. /The bibliography on p. 309 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

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346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
●[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work,"

4:Bernal Villa--17 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SCI

/190 cont./
them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling. Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill, it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly, yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha, it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew

/195 cont./

262 373 461 [276] coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is general among men and women, old people and children. There is no household without chicha for any length of time. And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or [431] visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

249 273 461 Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for weddings.

273 415 The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in the ground up to their rims.

273 463 796 The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent. Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

273 [796] At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in the following way:

[415] A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

/206 cont./

796 of cowhide and are busy cooking the food, hastily reviving the kitchen fire. Meanwhile, the men talk and laugh hilariously.

[264] The house of the fiestero is bustling with activity. At six
● [262] o'clock in the morning men and women have breakfasted on "mute," cabbage, bananas, yuca, and meat. Then, the women put on to cook, in a copper pan with a diameter of one meter and 50 centimeters, the mute for the laborers' lunch and for feasting the albacero after vespers. Next to this vessel they place another one of clay, slightly smaller, full of shelled maize with ashes. About four arrobas of maize will be consumed during this day.

With the bundles of firewood piled in one corner of the kitchen, and the water stored in jars, the women sit around the fire to nurse their children, spin wool, weave their pouches, and converse about matters of daily life.

In the course of the day there will be the sacrifice of the beef; the presentation of the "camarico" to the priest; the greeting of the albacero; the celebration of vespers with the vacaloca game; concluding with the meal given by the fiestero at midnight. On the following day there will be the Mass, a procession, the handing over of the banners to the new fiesteros, and the care given to the albacero.

/207/ XV

Scene between the Second Fiestero and Albacero

[805] The position of the sun indicates that it is nine o'clock in the morning. In the house of the albacero the muffled sounds of the bass drum and the melody of the flutes are heard.

While they play, the fiestero and his wife visit the albacero with a pot of stew /sancocho/, a bottle of aguardiente, a sky-
[539] rocket, and a candle. The fiestero hands over what he has brought to the albacero, and his wife to the latter's wife. They sit around the fire. The dialogue is interesting:

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

●262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the fiuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

/214 cont./

796 and their respective wives do the honors of the table. With
574 the etiquette and courtesies already mentioned, the gift is
[576] presented to them and the corresponding distribution is made.
[431] /215/ The laborers and the fiesteros move from the sala
[576] to the kitchen and from there to the sala. "Guechi pikin ustau" (we are coming along), they say, upon entering the ñuhne wala. "Anjiha," reply those present.

The kitchen is full of prepared food, and the women are busy filling plates of various sizes; large ones, others medium-sized, and the smallest. The distributors are in charge of handing them out to the recipients. This time they will serve three different dishes:

[262] 1st, maize griddlecakes and meat; 2nd, stew made with bananas, potatoes, arracacha, and chopped meat; and 3rd, yuca, raw and cooked cabbage, and meat.

The albacero and wife and the síndico and spouse are congratulated with a bowlful of each of these three "courses." The mayordomos receive a smaller amount, and the rest of those present plates for everyday consumption.

Of these "courses," only the last one is distributed when there are many persons present. Everyone is equipped with a pouch. They sip the broth, squeeze out the solid food with their hands, and store it away in it. Drunkenness and fatigue permit little talk.

After eating, or rather, after having collected food, the
[535] music sounds. The fiestero and albacero dance with each other's wives. They carry lighted candles in their hands. The dance is slow, deliberate, halting. At the end, they all go to the house of the second fiestero to give him the church banners. He will repeat the same religious and social acts, with the same etiquette and the same courtesies.

* /221 cont./

756 vision she was at a 'minga' /communal work-party/ cooking
787 pork for the laborers.

"There was no doubt but that this was a spirit telling me that I should become a curer. The pouches that she carried indicated this to me. This is why I never fail to take my medicine pouches."

Another curer, from the Parcialidad of Calderas, relates his vision as follows: "One night I saw a beautiful child, fair, with the hair of a woman, reddish, and dressed in a wrapper. This child was the Ghost /Duende/, /222/ from whom the
[178] curer's power comes. He is the same Kallumb as is seen by true curers, because nowadyas there are some who learn to cure through the teaching of others."

In the Parcialidad of San Andrés they say that the Ghost visits the curer when someone goes to consult him, to tell him what brought him and the advice that he should give.

It may also happen, says a Calderuno /native of Calderas/
• [262] 19 years old, that someone wishes to become a curer. Then,
[263] he subjects himself to a diet. For one month he eats no salt or ají /Capsicum/. He goes at once to the mountain, alone, his head lowered, lost in thought, with the hope of finding a good friend whose counsel he can ask. At a magnificent spot, pleasant to the senses, he meets a man advanced in years, short of stature, good, generous, amiable in conversation, and amply educated, who chews coca like other Indians and, like them, also carries kuetand yahas (pouches). Filled with trust, he explains his wishes to become a curer, arguing that there are many people who are dying. He asks about the good remedies. The one questioned answers that there are good remedies for curing the sick and presents him with a pouch of them. This one is for such-and-such an illness, he says, this other one for that one, and so on successively, specifying the medicinal value of the remedies in the pouch. He instructs him in their use, technique and method. Up to the way of

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
*756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.
[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being performed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer
[787] divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter
[782] specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
●[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.
755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
*756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [727] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

* 756 562 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state; there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence women do not learn medicine.

* 756 834 262 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food. They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have in other cultures.

While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit. The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are poisonous.

The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost. They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "provisions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day. Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality makes them sleep less.

Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams, as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, observes a certain relation between the manifest content of the dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Interpretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here are a few examples out of many:

To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale began more /305 cont./

244 433 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 154 [198] The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologically, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatisfaction. [243] Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 464 166 During the months of July, August, September, and October, the natives have little work. This is why those from Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 433 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

6: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is in-
[244] tended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger con-
[262] sumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food
[464] items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245]
[434]
[439]

1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262]
[276]
[273]

3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

/316/

105 178 [244] Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

● [262] [264] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered considerably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with proposi-
tions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller
in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the
lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multi-
plication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.)
on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not
create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements
by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when
this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the
journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it
sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again.
How can this be explained? The persons relating the story re-
peatedly ask.

231
262 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
[796] ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[527] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[281] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[234] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top
of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by
him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left
of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have
any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied
by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take
place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which
is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose
of which is to please him.

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/326 cont./

262 [252] The chachafruto (ũsual), a leguminous plant that bears rather sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (kalaguai), orejas de palo /literally, ears of wood/ (kallumbo) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, frĩjol /327/ cacha (us tape) that abounds in thickets, moras (sutsion) and the ground cherries (chimbũ) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /mazamorra/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (shlal).

224 [44] [789] Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a minga. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags. [262] [252] They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored. Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor" -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they 223 [411] make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. Chamones,

Chamones

/327 cont./

223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
●262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate
/328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

398 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

398 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/347 cont./

427 earning a small daily wage (the maximum daily wage that they
466 earn is two pesos, but this is exceptional; ordinarily the men
465 earn one peso and the women 80 centavos); not to work on other fincas; to sell the surplus from their crops to the owners of the hacienda themselves, especially if it is coffee; to divide in half or distribute in equal parts with the owner the panela obtained /348/ from the ovens of the hacienda; the wife and children of the tenant farmers are also obliged to work on the hacienda. They have the right to plant any crop except coffee. They earn nothing on Sundays or on religious or national holidays, nor do they receive any remuneration for extra hours of work. They do not get any social services. When the owner is good, he gives them salt and, ordinarily, one "spot" of plantain (a ration of cooked plantains).

427 Many are sons of tenant farmers born on the hacienda itself.
466 Others have suffered in this servitude for more than ten years. Although a few have freed themselves from this situation, most of them resist giving up their rancho and their garden when the owners want to dispossess them. One tenant-farmer informant, when questioned as to whether his situation was good or bad, said: "I have to be satisfied, what else can I do if from childhood I have been here" (on the hacienda). Besides, he figures that if the owner wants to remove him, he will have to pay him
[423] for the improvements in his garden. Here and there a tenant farmer with more than 20 years of usufruct from his piece of land has already refused to pay his rent.

One tenant farmer who has worked for several owners recalls that some were good, but most of them were bad, ambitious, exploiters, who had their laborers work too hard, cheated in the wages, and one even gave them beatings.

Alimentary diet

● 262 We wish to note that most of the notes concerning the diet
[121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

/348 cont./

●262 Maize is the species most intensively cultivated, the one of major consumption and the one that satisfies the most psychologically. We have already seen the case of the "hambruna" /extreme hunger/ in Mosoco, where, in spite of the harvest of other produce, it seems to be precisely because there is no [252] maize. With maize they make mote, griddlecakes /arepas/, tamales /envueltos/, and "sango" a maize soup/, in addition to eating it toasted or roasted when it is tender.

252 Mote is practically the raw material of the daily foods.
262 It is obtained by boiling the maize in water and ashes until the cuticle is completely loose and then washing it in an abundance of water. This mote is put on to boil, and when it has gone through three "boilings," that is to say, the water has been changed three times, one tosses into it first dry frijoles, then plantains, manioc, arracacha, /349/ cabbages, and meat if [263] there is any, and lastly onions, cumin, and saffron. Salt, which is always preferred in grains or lumps, is put in by each individual, who takes the grain and mixes it into his own dish until he thinks that he has enough. They do not eat food highly salted. This kind of food is a "pot-au-feu," the one most widespread among the people and the one which they eat daily. The informants consider it "delicious."

The griddlecakes /arepas/ are made with dry or tender maize. With the first, they skin the maize in ashes and then they grind it not too fine; the resulting flour is mixed with boiling water and ground once more, this time very fine. With this mass the women make large, round griddlecakes, harden them on a heated piece of earthenware, and finish roasting them in the embers of the hearth. These are the griddlecakes of the religious fiestas of Calderas. When they want the griddlecakes to have "a good taste," they put in salt, onions, or coriander (in Mosoco we have seen that they put in eggs); these are griddlecakes for family consumption. To make griddlecakes from roasting ears, they shell the ear, grind the mass well, and, without any kind of condiments, they make the griddlecakes and harden and roast them in the familiar form. The frequency of

/349 cont./

252 consumption of griddlecakes is low in most of the parcialidades,
262 but in Mosoco it is almost daily. These natives take their coffee
[272] and milk with griddlecakes, which are good substitutes for bread.

The "envueltos" or cakes are made when there are roasting ears. Shelled, ground, and unsifted, the small masses extend along the husks of the same ear, removed carefully by cutting
[263] off with a knife the thicker part of the ear. No condiment of any kind is put in because the roasting ear in itself has "good flavor." The envueltos, once cooked, are eaten with sancocho /a stew/. They say that it is a "very tasty" dish. Ordinarily, when they make envueltos they kill a pig or chickens and invite relatives to eat them. The eating of envueltos is implicitly associated with the start of the maize harvest, in which the local curer plays a part.

"Sango" is based on finely ground and unsifted maize flour, which is put in the pot when the frijoles are sufficiently cooked. They make sure that the soup does not thicken too much. They also add to this dish chopped cabbage, onions, or coriander for "flavor."

Frijoles are very necessary, very tasty, and the most common food; /350/ mote without frijoles is not tasty; frijoles have flavor and the 'cacha' are the tastiest, and especially green, the (tender) little things are eaten with the shell," says an informant from Calderas.

Frijoles are eaten in sancocho. When the frijoles are cooked sufficiently, one adds plantains peeled and in pieces, arracacha peeled, washed, and cut up, manioc prepared like the arracacha, chopped onions, and saffron. Meat or lard is added if they have any. This dish is said to be "tasty." Frijoles are also eaten mixed with mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/. The beans are boiled first, and when they are thought to be sufficiently cooked the finely chopped mejicano is added and, much later, ground maize. When all this is cooked, they eat it without salt, saying that it is as tasty as the rice with milk of the "whites." They also eat mejicano with well-cooked mote and frijoles, and it is very tasty if cows' feet are added to it.

/350 cont./

252 Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never
262 lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into
244 the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook
[796] the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their con-
262 sumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

273 /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and
[249] fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [334]

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the frijol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, frijol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
932 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frijoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have
●[262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frĳol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and
[273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old
[276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and
[261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frĳol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat
[758] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to
[787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always
[262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to
[263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves;
262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing
262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the
264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5½(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Pdez*, the *Pdez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
241 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
133 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800
132 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
● [262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[1]

[127]

[1] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

?:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

[178] [433] [273]

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

[782] [273]

241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

[177] [438] [251]

574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

●262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

[415] [177]